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The Director of Central Intelligence

Washington, D.C. 20505

NIC-04230-87
3 November 1987

Senior Review Panel

MEMORANDUM FOR: Director of Central Intelligence
Deputy Director of Central IntelligenceSUBJECT: Senior Review Panel Comments on Draft
Concept Paper and Terms of Reference (TOR)
for SNIE 56-3-87: Political Crisis in
the Philippines: Implications for the
United States (Fast-Track), internally
dated 27 October 1987

1. The Panel notes the intention of the SNIE to provide US policymakers with "the unique perspective of what Filipinos believe is necessary to ensure long-term stability in the Philippines and the survival of the Aquino government," and to supplement this with an Aquino survival prognosis and an Aquino-as-best-chance analysis.

2. We question whether these alone are a sufficient basis for the SNIE on Philippine prospects that is needed now. The Concept Paper acknowledges this in its statement of the Problem which includes as a first aim to "examine conditions in the Philippines after the 28 August coup." This is one of the SNIE's two most critical requirements--the other is to project those conditions for the several time frames of the exercise: three to six months, 6-12 months, and the next 3-5 years, respectively. The present TOR do not, in our view, provide an adequate basis for these more significant purposes: The first aim is not subsequently referred to; the second is not made explicit.

3. The Panel, in its memo to the DCI and DDCI of 24 September, suggested there are several trends converging to make the prospects for the Philippine government problematic. We felt several factors needed more estimative attention, including especially developments outside Manila, trends in insurgent violence, and political/economic currents. We also noted what we believed to be an overemphasis on the personality and leadership style of Mrs. Aquino. We think these are still valid points which need be taken into account in an updated assessment of the crisis in the Philippines.

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4. It may be that the managers and drafters of the present project have such matters in mind, but their intentions toward them do not clearly emerge from the present drafts. Without an antecedent and systematic analysis of present and prospective Philippine "conditions," readers will have no basis for judging the rationale of post-coup Philippine perspectives or the adequacy of whatever is posed as "the ideal--or the model--national agenda."

5. We believe the Key Questions continue to be too much personality centered and will not lead to adequate appreciation by policymakers of the broad ranging nature of the Philippine crisis. In fact, we would suggest that the SNIE title might be reconsidered. The crisis is not only political; it is security, economic, social, and, in its implications, international. The Panel suggests that something along the line of the following should be the thrust of the Key Questions and TOR: What are the major forces and currents for stability and instability? Which are the critical threats to internal security and will the central authorities be able to cope with them? How? What are the major sources of insurgent strength? Can the Aquino government counteract the appeal and power of the CPP? How serious are the internal problems? Why is the power of the central authority eroding?

6. Finally, we think the drafts might also address the question of Other Actors/Potential Donors, both friendly (Japan, Korea, ASEAN, perhaps a few West Europeans) and unfriendly (notably a Soviet transmission belt through Vietnam). What are the prospects of Philippine burden-sharing?

W

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